THE WORKERS'
DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

Vol. IV.—No. 25 SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th, 1917 Price One Penny

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The passing of the compromise resolution on Stockholm last Tuesday left behind it an atmosphere of gloom. It had settled nothing, satisfied no one. The seamen again raised the submarine question on Thursday, September 6th, when, at their request, a resolution was adopted by the conference protesting against the practices of German submarine commanders, and expressing appreciation of the services of merchant seamen in bringing food and necessaries to our shores.

Havelock Wilson supported the motion—a tragic figure, gaunt and haggard, and greatly aged and altered since the outbreak of war. In the spirit of the ancient blood feud he threatened vengeance, declaring that, apart from anything the Government might do, the merchant seamen were determined to punish to the utmost the Germans for their crimes at sea. "Sailors have peculiar ways of doing things; sailors go mad sometimes." For every additional crime the punishment would be increased, for the Germans had broken the great tradition of the sea—always to save life—which had been handed down from father to son during hundreds of years. On the previous Tuesday he wept when asserting that the Germans removed the lifebelts before they submerged the "Belgian Prince," and now, too, his voice broke with emotion. One could not hear him without pity. But will he not realise that the War itself has broken the old sea tradition? When nations are striving together in the death grip, when millions are perishing on land, and all the national effort is bent to starve out the entire population of the rival, what is it, then, that a few merchantmen should be downed? Only one more atrocity amongst so many; only a few thousand more deaths amongst the millions who die when military necessity calls the tune. And the sea death is a clean death as compared with that of the bayonet charge or the explosion, the shell or the boiling oil. When war was an affair of a few isolated battles and sieges, men were perhaps able at times to adorn it with chivalry and forbearance, though the saying, "All's fair in war," was not made in our time. But in these days war is a long sequence of atrocities, and as the bear merely hugs, while his victim bites and scratches, so the Power which possesses the biggest navy finds it easiest to keep the rules of war. Only the atrocities of the other side are published as such in any country, and poor human nature, flinching from stories of inhumanity, strives to take refuge in the belief that only the other side can do these things. Having passed his life in the atmosphere of peace, Havelock Wilson, and men of his temperament, compare the action of our own countrymen in peace with the actions of the enemy in time of war. But wilh all his passion Havelock Wilson has not entirely lost touch with the pulse of the Trade Union movement: he concluded by repudiating the charges that his pacifist colleagues are acuated by self-interest or are under German influence.

THE AMERICAN DELEGATES.

In the speeches of the fraternal delegates which followed immediately afterwards, the position of Labour in world politics again presented itself. The first of these delegates to speak was Mr. James Lord, President of the United Mineworkers of the American Confederation of Labour, a big man bearing a striking resemblance to some of the portrait busts of Roman Emperors in the British Museum. Poor fellow, in the height of War fever delirium he declared: "We are not going to be swept off our feet by pacifists." His high-flown denunciations of Prussia were too much for one of the visitors, who, in broad Lancashire accents called out, "Czar made t' War more than Kaiser!" It is kinder to Mr. Lord to refrain from recording the outpourings of the War delirium, from which we wish him a speedy recovery, and which at present fills him with enthusiasm for "the most unique gathering in the world"—the American Committee on Labour, on which John D. Rockefeller, of the Standard Oil Trust, Guggenheim, of the Steel Trust, and other men "who have never thought kindly of Labour," are sitting beside President Sam Gompers and other Labour representatives, and are, Mr. Lord imagines, "laying aside their past differences." It suffices to say that Mr. Lord informed us that America is preparing for a three years' War, and that the American Confederation of Labour does not see any good in negotiating with the workers of the Central Empires.

Mr. Golden, of the American Textile Workers, who announced that he was born, "raised," and married in Lancashire, spoke more moderately, and chose his words with a good deal of care and tact; but whilst he began by saying that when the plenipotentiaries meet to arrange Peace terms, the representatives of Labour must have seats at the board, he finished by confirming his colleague's declaration that the American Confederation of Labour refuse to confer with the representatives of the workers fighting against them, and will not talk to the Germans until the Germans are beaten.

THE CANADIAN DELEGATE.

David Rees, the Canadian delegate, one of the United Mineworkers, announced himself modestly as a "school boy in the movement," and explained that he had left the South Wales mines only 10½ years before. He seemed to be a typical South Wales Socialist of the type which supports the Central Labour College. Such men observe all this conflict from the revolutionary standpoint, and on that ground, are able to adopt a firm, unflinching attitude, careless of being found in a minority. They are removed from the heat and anger of strife by the calm security that we and our efforts are but tiny incidents in the evolutionary process which is preparing Socialism within the womb of the capitalist system. His was a simple, business-like speech, well-phrased, with no attempt at oratory. He thought that the delegates were all War weary and weary of War speeches, an observation which evoked loud applause. Referring to the resolution on the agenda for a general eight-hour day, he told the Conference that when he left for Canada the old South Wales miner was wondering whether he could make his wage under the eight-hour day. In Canada the miners now have the eight-hour day in most districts, and their slogan has become a six-hour day. He observed on the agenda a resolution urging that Trade Union representatives should have the right to attend inquests and that of putting questions through the Coroner. This right the Unions have in Canada. It was evident that the Congress was a resolution factory: he wished that we might be less resolute in words and more resolute in deeds. "We in Canada have this sin, too," he said. It is only possible to get from a Government what can be forced from it by the power of an organisation. Referring to workmen's compensation, he explained that a new Act of British Columbia does away with the necessity for going to the Courts by decreeing that the cases shall be tried by a representative of the employer, a representative of the employee, and an independent chairman. No chairman is really independent: he would be a freak of nature if he were. The cost of administering this new Act was only 9 per cent. as compared with the old. Mr. Rees contributed his word to the industrial unionism controversy and the determination of the British Miners' Federation to organise all the workers in and about the mines, saying that in his view the miners were right, and that better results may be achieved by one great organisation embracing all the workers with whom an employer has to deal than by a number of small unions. He declared himself opposed to compulsory arbitration, which involves the denial of the right to strike. The Canadian Industrial Disputes Investigation Act dictates that 30 days must elapse before the employees may commence a strike or the employer a lock-out. The workers have discovered that this proviso gives the employer just the notice that he requires. The more experience of the Act the workers gain the more they desire its repeal.

In regard to the War and Stockholm, Mr. Rees announced himself as one of the minority. He thought that the workers should call an international conference as speedily as possible, and, in view of the great sacrifices already made, should endeavour to see if an early Peace could not be brought about. It was all very well to say: "Yes, we'll talk Peace when we've licked

(Continued on page 850.)

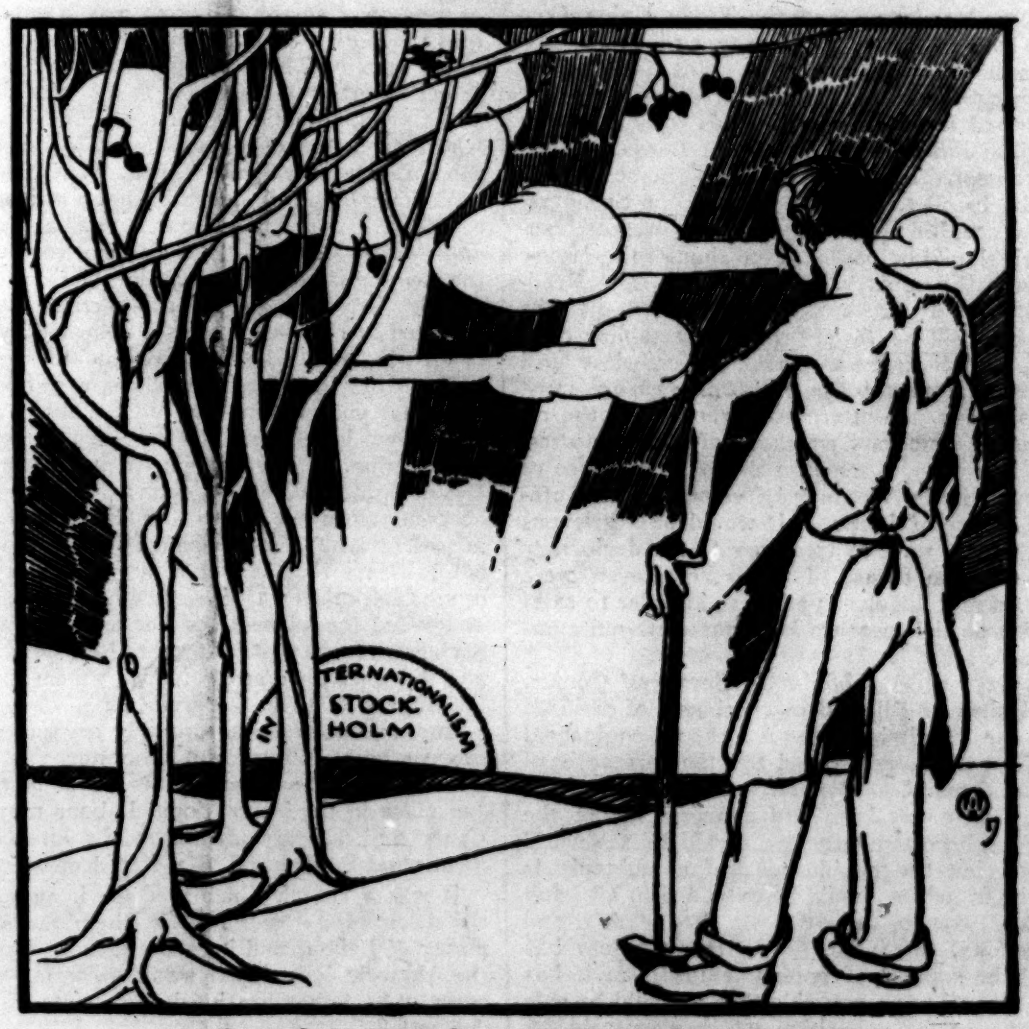
Of Special Interest This Week!

Full Report of Blackpool Congress.

Sweating in Belfast.

Babies and Patriots: a Soldier's View.

STOCKHOLM



THE SUN SINKS WHILST LABOUR THINKS

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE FRANCHISE SITUATION

As we have repeatedly stated, the compromise which has produced the present unsatisfactory franchise Bill is linked with another compromise, by which it is intended to "reform" the House of Lords and to re-establish its absolute power to veto legislation passed by the Commons. Many Parliamentary announcements have been made concerning the proposed "reform" of the Upper House and the setting up of a committee to prepare the scheme. We have observed with surprise, that these announcements have hitherto been allowed to pass with scarcely a comment by the Socialist, Labour, Radical, and Liberal Members of Parliament, and by the Press representating their views. We have found ourselves almost alone in our warning protests. But at last Mr. Henderson and the Trade Union Congress have awakened to the danger which has been apparent to us for so long. The Government has categorically informed the representatives of Organised Labour that it intends to hold up the franchise Bill until the House of Lords Bill has been accepted by the Commons. Some persons may be found to say that because the Speakers' Conference Bill would improve the present franchise it should be passed, even though the House of Lords Bill must be accepted with it. Needless to say we are not of that Party. If the Franchise Bill had been framed to establish complete Adult Suffrage we should nevertheless have insisted that the House of Lords measure must be resisted to the uttermost, even should the result be the temporary wreckage of both measures, for it is useless to secure a democratic House of Commons if its Acts may be vetoed by an Autocratic House of Lords. It would be a grievous error, even an act of treachery to the democracy to reerect the House of Lords veto, even were adult suffrage involved; to do so in order to safeguard a partial measure is in our view quite unthinkable .

We have never thought the Speakers' Conference Franchise Bill had much chance of passing. From the first it has been a measure engineered by wire pullers, not forced by the pressure of popular demand. Popular interest in the franchise, which was keen and growing before the War, has been temporarily diverted by the world conflict; but the popular desire undoubtedly is that the franchise should be extended to all adult men and women, on the basis of one man and one woman, one vote. As this measure has lacked the support of popular enthusiasm it has never seemed to us probable that it would be able to surmount the opposition which was early declared against it by the powerful reactionary Curzon group.

In the 'eighties the popularity of the Franchise Bill grew tremendously after it had been thrown out by the Lords, and the present measure also would gain in public esteem if its friends refuse to accept the House of Lords "Reform" bargain and put up a real fight to force the Franchise Bill through. But their tactics hitherto have not been of the courageous order and we believe that a proportion of the supporters of the Franchise Bill—how large the proportion is we do not know—has already assented to the other half of the what we have long held to be a two-fold compromise.

The franchise measure which should become the centre of the democratic conflict should be adult suffrage not this Compromise Bill. Adult Suffragists must energetically stimulate the demand for a genuine Reform Bill which will make Parliament, obedient to the people's will. To do so it must provide:—

Adult Suffrage for men and women and the abolition of plural voting in any form.

Continuous Registration.

Proportional Representation.

The Initiative Referendum and Recall.

Let us make the demand for these reforms real immediate and insistent.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued from front page)

the other fellow," but the other fellow might adopt the same attitude. It was said that this War was a battle of German autocracy against our democracy, but he had his doubts. He had his doubts as to why this War was commenced and why the various Powers had come into the War. In all this he explained he had spoken for himself. There was no doubt as to Canada's patriotism, but in the latter part of 1914 and the early part of 1915 men had been facing the panic of unemployment, and there was some doubt as to how many of the men who had enlisted had been forced to the recruiting office for lack of a job. In some towns as many as 90 per cent. of the people were aliens, and these people were afraid to say much about their views. But when the British workers should be facing an industrial battle there was no doubt that Canadian workers would support them.

HENDERSON'S STATEMENT.

Throughout the proceedings it had been obvious that the Congress contained two factions, each of which applauded the speakers or sentiments which appealed to it: and also that there was a floating element which at times remained silent and at times joined with the one faction or the other. Occasionally all these elements were combined, as now, when the Chairman announced the fraternal delegate from the Labour Party, the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, who no longer spoke as a member of the War Cabinet, but was "still right and honourable." Great cheers greeted him. He looked jaded, like a man who has spent sleepless nights. His voice thrilled with passionate emotion; and with unusal force and power, his words crashed upon the ear and swept the sympathy of the delegates onward. As he spoke, Stockholm, the International Conference of the workers, which had seemed to have slipped away in the distance, was brought back into the region of immediate possibilities. Even those who had bitterly opposed the Stockholm project seemed transformed, at least for the time, into its enthusiastic supporters. Amongst those who roared their cheers at him as he finished was Sexton, who stood up waving both his hands. "We have been told that Stockholm is dead." He repudiated the suggestion. Stockholm as a name might be dead. "We do not care whether the meeting is held in Stockholm, Christiania, The Hague; any place in neutral territory will suit our purpose." But the Stockholm idea was not dead, the idea was too valuable to be killed. "They will find before many days, even hours, are over that your Parliamentary Committee, and my Executive, have taken the first steps to secure a resurrection." Great applause broke forth: all the delegates were with him; and again they cheered when he said that he would rather negotiate with the German minority Socialists before Peace than confer with a discredited autocratic Government after victory had been secured, and called for fairness and honour to the German Socialist minority—Liebknecht, Bernstein, Haase and those who had struggled with them to thwart the objects of their Government.

International Labour properly organised could prevent both military and economic war. The British Labour movement was about to take its due place in the international Labour movement. Czars and Kaisers must go; absolute Government must be replaced by a free democracy.

It was a speech which fired the imagination of the delegates; it pictured for them the majestic power of Labour and its great future. But when the rhetoric is stripped away, how far does it carry us? What are its definite statements and demands?

(1) The right of British Labour to attend an International Conference at Stockholm is insisted upon, but "we do not mind a rebuff for a few weeks or months."

In peace time such patience might be understandable, but in view of the mounting casualty lists and the probability that the Governments will endeavour to arrange their Peace terms without consulting Labour, patience is out of place.

(2) The Workers' International Conference was not going to be a Peace conference. The settlement of Peace conditions must be left to the Governments as alone responsible to the entire nation, but Labour is not prepared to let the matter rest "in the hands of diplomats, secret plenipotentiaries or even politicians of the official stamp unless they are prepared to give some regard to the voice of the common people of all the countries concerned."

Mr. Henderson's insistence that the Conference will not fix Peace terms seems to us ambiguous: surely the idea is to agree on terms of Peace acceptable to international Labour and to endeavour to force these upon the Governments. Otherwise what is the Conference for?

(3) The Allied Conference had lamentably failed, Mr. Henderson thought it ought to have agreed to go to the German Socialists and say there could be no peace until the German autocracy had been smashed. The form of the German Government was no longer a question for the German people.

This is a dangerous doctrine. Conquest has often been justified by the conquerors on the plea that they desire to bring civilisation to the barbarians, but the stultification of progress has invariably resulted.

(4) Germany is alone responsible for the War.

We do not agree that this is so; we believe that the War has arisen out of the competition of capitalistic factions for the exploitation of Africa and the Near East, and that the expected tug of war was long prepared for by all the Great Powers, whose rulers hoped that the matter might be settled to their satisfaction without war, but were one and all determined rather to plunge the world into war than to relinquish their special claims.

This view is born out by Mr. Henderson's own statement to the Congress:—"I am not where I am merely because I was supporting the Stockholm Conference. I am here . . . because I refused to do what I would never do—desert the people who sent me into the Government." Mr. Henderson has not told the democracy what it was that drove him from the Government. Was it the Allied War aims?

(5) The Kaiser tried to form a league of kings to fight against the progress of democracy in all countries.

This is an interesting statement; we should like to know who joined the league and who were its supporters. Was the British king approached, and what was his reply? Was the League supported by Lords Northcliffe, Milner and Curzon?

MINORITIES.

Henderson did not refer definitely to the question of the representation of British Socialists at the International Conference. The Labour Party had not been invited and Congress had instructed the Parliamentary Committee to act with the Labour Party. One felt that something had been left unsaid. The compromise resolution had laid it down that the Trades Union Congress would only take part in an International Conference in which minorities within each nation were represented according to their numerical strength, and were bound by the decisions of the majority. This decision may have momentous consequences: it may possibly lead to the severance between the Socialist parties and the Labour Party. On the following day the Chairman announced that in order to avoid any danger of conflict with the spirit of the resolution adopted by the compromise on the preceding Tuesday, the decision to send delegates in the Inter-Allied Conference on September 10th had been cancelled.

THE FRANCHISE AND THE LORDS.

Mr. Henderson concluded by revealing the conspiracy, of which we have long since made our readers aware, to hold up the Franchise Bill until the Commons agree to pass the measure to "reform" the House of Lords, which is intended to establish the absolute veto of the Lords on all Acts passed by the Commons. We are surprised that Mr. Henderson has only now discovered this plot! We think it probable that the present Franchise Bill will be wrecked, and hope that it will be replaced by a better measure when the tide of democracy turns against the War Government.

Colonel Cresswell, the delegate from South Africa, looking a typical member of the employing classes and curiously unlike a Labour representative, an old-fashioned man who spoke briefly and cautiously, as though scarcely knowing what to make of the atmosphere created by Henderson's speech, pleading that war weariness should not prevent us from responding to our sense of duty.

THE FRENCH DELEGATE.

M. Jouhaux, the secretary of the French General Federation of Labour, most typically workman most typically French, declared in favour of an International Conference, urging that Labour must close up its ranks and substitute democracy for autocracy. Later the American and Canadian delegates were presented with gold watches and the Congress badge. The Welsh miners cried out Welsh greetings to the Canadian delegate, and he gaily responded. But the American delegates seemed subdued and crestfallen. Mr. Lord had lost much of his Yankee accent; he mentioned that he was born in Leeds. He was sorry he had forgotten Karl Liebknecht. Mr. Golden said: "I left your country because I could not get a job." Henderson's whole speech was a rebuke to them, and he had reminded them that not long ago the American Confederation of Labour had appealed to the Parliamentary Committee of the British Trade Union Congress to agree to an International Conference, and the Parliamentary Committee had agreed, though the Congress had refused. Now the American Confederation would have nothing to do with Internationalism, but he hoped that it would again change its mind. The Chairman, in presenting the watches, repeated the rebuke with a graceful humour which robbed it of offence. He said that we frequently present watches to Americans "because American time is always slow, and even the sun rises later there. But if you set these watches by Greenwich time, you will find your watches beating with ours, as your hearts always do."

FOOD PRICES.

A resolution complaining of the continued rise in food prices, and calling for Government purchase of all essential foodstuffs, the commandeer-

(continued on page 853)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY

THE POLICY FOR FOOD CONTROL COMMITTEES.

MILK.

Strong protest should be made against the Order raising the price of milk to 7d. a quart in October and 8d. in November with an extra penny a quart for bottled milk. Food Control Committees are now given power,

(1) To buy and sell milk.

(2) To direct dealers to deliver milk to specified customers in priority to any other person in their area.

(3) To direct any retailer to deliver only in such parts of his usual area as they may prescribe.

(4) To take measures for securing the purity, cleanliness and wholesomeness of milk.

Members of food committees should therefore work to secure that the committees shall establish milk depôts, where milk shall be sold under the best possible conditions. This will be a first step to the nationalisation of the milk supply.

Steps should also be taken to secure that milk rounds shall be organised to prevent overlapping and that one milkman, and one milkman only, shall supply each district. And that only pure milk is supplied. A strong effort must be made to take over the milk supply and to take over the existing milk dealers as employees who shall be paid a fair salary for their work, but shall not make any profit. This policy should be pursued consistently in regard to all commodities.

INCIDENTS IN THE WAR FOR FREEDOM.

Adela Pankhurst sentenced to 9 months' imprisonment for speaking at an Australian demonstration against food profiteers.

William D. Heywood, Secretary of International Workers of the World, arrested in Chicago, during a raid on offices of Socialist Organisations.

During the Welsh National Eisteddfodd at Birkenhead, a rosette was pinned on the breast of the only survivor of the Military choir, which carried off the prize at Bangor two years ago. The survivor is maimed for life. The composer of the prize "Chair Poem" of the Eisteddfod, Ellis Evans, a mountain shepherd, has been killed in France.

STRIKE FOR A LIVING WAGE AT ROBINSON AND CLEAVER'S.

A strike is now taking place at the Belfast establishment of Robinson and Cleaver, and the women workers are picketing the doorways. We are informed that Robinson and Cleaver have a reserve fund of £60,000. Their profits for the last year amounted to £21,000. The cost to support an inmate in the Belfast Workhouse, inclusive of all charges, is 11s. 3d. per week. Messrs. Robinson and Cleaver pay to experienced assistants :—

	s.	d.	
Girls, two years' experience	5	0	weekly
Girls, four years' experience	6	0	,,
Girls, seven years' experience	9	0	,,
Girls, eight years' experience	9	7½	,,
Man (with wife and family), twenty-seven years' experience	26	0	,,
Junior Assistants	2	4	,,

These workers live out and are not provided with meals. There are no additions to these wages.

The firm has refused to receive a deputation, and has circulated documents which the shop assistants have been "requested" to sign vowing loyalty to the firm in case trouble should arise.

DOCK CANTEENS.

Dockers complain of the dirty conditions in the canteens at the docks. As one said, "They are not fit for an animal to have its food in, much less a human being." Exorbitant prices are charged. One man weighed the bread and bacon he bought and found that the bread came to 2s. 6d. a loaf; the bacon, which was unfit for human consumption, came to 3s. 6d. and 4s. a pound. The Tidal Basin Branch of the W.S.F. informed the authorities of the matter, and a reply came saying that the Port of London Authorities are going into the whole question of dock canteens.

MORE REVELATIONS OF SECRET DIPLOMACY.

Hardly a week passes without some new revelation of the disgraceful workings of the Secret Diplomacy which every Government is carrying on in the interests of the traders and financiers. These revelations are made by the spies in the pay of the various Governments. During recent weeks the spies of the Central Powers have been most active and the revelations have been most damaging to the Allies. But now the spies of the Allies are securing the advantage.

American spies have brought to light the cipher telegrams which have passed between Count Luxburg, the German Chargé d'Affaires in Buenos Ayres and the Foreign Office in Berlin, in which Count Luxburg gave information as to the sailings of the Argentine vessels and advised that they should be "spared if possible," "either let through or turned back," "but if sunk, should be sunk without a trace being left" (**spurlos versenkt**). These telegrams are alleged to have been sent in cipher throught the Swedish legation and Stockholm foreign office, which passed them on to Germany. The "New York Herald" claims that a secret compact against England between the Czar and Kaiser has been discovered. The telegrams are in English! The story should be regarded with suspicion. The Swedish Government is accused of having infringed its neutrality; but replies that it had been doing some telegraphing through Germany at the request of America, and was not asked not to transmit German telegrams to Buenos Ayres. Before condemning Sweden too hastily it is as well to secure information as to whether the Swedish officials were aware of the meaning of the cipher telegrams; and whether the interpretation of the cipher by German spies is correct. Outrageous as the revelation is, we must retain our sense of perspective, and realise that, as unmoral secret diplomacy is carried on by all nations, the system of which it is a part, is the thing which should be attacked. The revelations are said to have aroused great indignation in Sweden and the elections seem to be going strongly in favour of the progressive parties. In the Lower House the last election gave 87 seats to the Socialists, 57 to the Liberals and 86 to the Conservatives. The Socialists and Liberals are now gaining, and it is said that the Socialist majority leader Hyalmar Branting, will probably become Prime Minister. It will be remembered that Mr. Branting was to be chairman of the Stockholm Conference. As he is strongly pro-Ally the absurdity of condemning the Stockholm Conference as pro-German is clearly manifest.

The "Manchester's Guardian's" account of the Haldane negotiations with the German Government shows that the diplomats and Governments of both Britain and Germany were engaged in the sordid game of beggar my neighbour. Lord Haldane played his part with the usual smile, which is called skill in diplomatic circles. His apologists specially commend him for restoring the confidence of the German Government by his visits to the headquarters of their War machinery, and thereby gaining a knowledge of their system which has proved useful in fighting them. German diplomats will boast in their turn that they turned Haldane's brain "inside out"!

OVERCROWDING.

The Industrial Commission declares that the housing problem at Barrow-in-Furness, has become a "crying scandal." In many houses a separate family occupies each room and, in some cases as many as 6 men lodgers are packed into one room. In one case a husband, wife and two children occupied half the room and a husband and wife the other half, a screen being placed between. The Rent Act is easily evaded. Houses are sold instead of let, the high purchase price being converted into a mortage, repayable in weekly instalments, considerably in excess of the former rent, the purchaser letting out the rooms separately. The rooms of one house previously let at 9s. 6d. are now let unfurnished 6s. 6d. each and 20 persons are living in it. Lodgers perhaps sleeping 6 in a room are charged 5s. each for a share in the use of a bed. This method of selling houses over the heads of the people in them is leading to a serious state of affairs. The old tenants are refusing to leave as they have nowhere to go—even the Workhouse is full, as the military have taken part of it. There was a house famine before the War, when the population was 66,000; it is now 83,000. The Medical Officer of Health says that 1,500 new houses are needed for the permanent population, and 1,500 more for the imported War population. The Ministry of Munitions has at last consented to build, not the necessary 3,000 houses, but 1,000 houses!

Meanwhile, Orders for the ejectment of the old tenants have been applied for in the High Court and have been obtained. Bitter feeling is expressed because some of the new tenants are Belgians. There is a certain irony in that fact, but the Belgians are not to blame for Britain's bad housing condition. The demand to concentrate on is for more houses and an amendment to the Rent Act which shall make the evasion impossible.

PITY OUR SOLDIERS.

70 per cent. of the British and Indian, rank and file prisoners captured by the Turks at Kut, are reported by the Central News to have died. The mortality amongst the Officers is said to be slight.

* * * *

The two organisations bearing the name "I.W.W." (British Administration) having settled their differences, have combined into one body bearing the same name, I.W.W., with headquarters at 29 Theobald's Rd., W.C.1.

An official journal, "The Industrial Worker," will be re-issued on September 15th, and will be devoted to expounding Industrial Unionism.

DREADNOUGHT 400/- FUND.

In response to our appeal in the DREADNOUGHT of September 1st, for regular subscriptions towards a guarantee fund of 400 shillings weekly, we have received the following: Miss D. Jewson, £1 (half-yearly); Mr. Durant, 10s. (monthly); Mrs. F. E. Rowe, 5s. (weekly); J. H. Morton, 5s. (monthly); Miss Boothroyd, 5s. (monthly); Mr. and Mrs. Cole, 4s. (monthly); Miss Hudson 2s. 6d. (monthly); Miss Sadie Jerome, 2s. 6d. (monthly); Dr. and Mrs. Schütze, 2s. 6d. (weekly); Mrs. Baillie Weaver, 2s. 6d. (monthly); Mrs. Richmond, 2s. (fortnightly); Miss Gladys Titford, 1s. 6d. (monthly); Mrs. Cole, 1s. 6d. monthly; Mrs. Minturn Scott, 1s. (weekly); Mrs. Brimley, 1s. (weekly); Miss R. Cohen, 1s. (weekly); Miss N. Cohen, 1s. (weekly); Miss Heiser, 1s. (weekly); Miss O'Callaghan, 1s. (weekly); Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst, 1s. (weekly); Mrs. Savoy, 1s. (weekly); Mrs. Crabb, 1s. (weekly); Mrs. Clarges, 1s. (weekly); Mr. Clarges, 1s. (weekly); Mr. Martyn, 1s. (weekly); Mrs. Casey 1s. (weekly); Miss Casey, 1s. (weekly); Mrs. Crosland Taylor, 1s. (weekly); Miss Saward, 1s. (weekly); Miss Buckley, 1s. (weekly); Miss Manicom, 1s. (weekly); Miss Balchin, 1s. (monthly); Miss Ada Frisby, 6d. (weekly).

"SETTLEMENT" SCHEME FOR INDIANS

Our readers will remember that on March 10th, we published details of the terrible conditions prevailing amongst the Indians who are working as indentured labourers in the tropics and the outrageous manner of their recruitment. In March, 1916, the Government, through Lord Hardinge, promised the abolition of the system, but month after month passed by and no change appeared. Now at last comes the announcement that a "Settlement" scheme has been substituted for the old system. "The Times" hails the new scheme as in every way satisfactory, but "The Times" says of the old one that it continued "without any sense of grievance on either side" and "for any harm it was doing it might well have been allowed to go on." The "Settlement" scheme may be an improvement on the old system of indenture, but we fear it differs more in detail than in principle, and unless administered by immaculate people, will give rise to many abuses. In any case, it holds the labourer in leading strings, and that in itself has dangers. Briefly the scheme provides that during the first six months the labourer will be placed for a "probationary" period under a "selected" employer. After that he may choose employment with an "approved" employer, whose name will be upon a register, if he provides conditions of employment and living which the Government considers satisfactory. A minimum wage will be fixed and revised every five years in accordance with the cost of living. During the first 12 months children under 11 years will have free rations, and during the whole time Indians are working for an approved employer children under five will have free rations. For six months free rations will be issued to pregnant and nursing women. Married and single quarters will be provided. "Grants" of land will be made to the Indians, the *rent* of which will be revised every 30 years. Therefore they do not appear to be actually grants of land but grants of eligibility to become tenants. For ten years after the grant the tenant will be prohibited from alienating or encumbering his right in the land except by permission of the department, and the department will have power to withdraw any land not put under cultivation within two years of granting. Grants of land are to adult men only, not to women. The Indian woman is not yet a human being in the eye of the Government. She has as yet produced no suffragettes. Women unaccompanied by their families will not be assisted. That there should be any reason in such a stipulation is not creditable to human beings. Grants are made of half passage money after three years, three-quarters after five years, the whole after seven years. The acceptance of a grant of land extinguishes the right to a free or assisted passage back to India. What is to happen in the case of an Indian who accepts a grant of land if misfortunes befal him so that he cannot pay his passage money back to India, where his family perhaps desire to receive him? The promise of rations for children and expectant mothers implies the payment of a very low wage. In Britain we should say the Truck Act had been infringed. Such schemes would be all right if controlled by those whom they concern but when applied to a subject people they are full of danger.

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This is a book of delightful poems by Clara Gilbert Cole who, along with Rosa Hobhouse, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for distributing peace literature. Throughout this admirably printed book there are classical decorations by Herbert Cole. The book may be obtained post free for 1s. 1d.

An Attack on Russian Jews and a Reply

(He is not permanently in the East End this Russian shirker. You may see some of him any night you may please to name in the purlieus of Leicester Square, and his errand there is not a pleasant one. He is a white slaver. Go to Brighton any evening you please and keep your ears open for the Yiddish that may float upon the evening breeze. In small hotels and pensions are those who should be serving the country of their adoption, but prefer to serve needles. As the problem stands, we have a community of 35,000 workers, greatly agitated, moved to evasions and to graft, and undoubtedly a source of danger in our midst. That peril should be faced without delay. Thousands of young Jews are mysteries of the night. Mean cafés hide them. All this because Russia or the British army awaits them. On Thursday evening I looked into five cafés and mean restaurants in the neighbourhood of Soho. All were full of young Russian Anarchists proclaiming their grievances in fierce whispers.—Max Pemberton in a leading article in the "Weekly Dispatch," July 29th.)

To Max Pemberton:—

It is inconceivable that a man of your position and learning should have fallen to the despicable level of the Northcliffe scribe. Unfortunately this is only too true; indeed, the gist of your article only goes to emphasise this point. Deep prejudice and blind hatred of the Jewish race is evident throughout; no one will gainsay that. What ignominy you will henceforth suffer in the eyes of decent and thoughtful people! No longer shall the world be able to read such literature of yours that is healthy and instructive. Henceforth books on these subjects, "Jews the 20th Century White Slavers," "The Russian Jew Menace to the World," will be prominent, and may be looked forward to from your reactionary pen. To-day the emblem of English culture and literary science is tainted as a result of your infamy. Black indeed is the outlook for England.

If you are sincere in your attitude that this is a righteous and just War, then I would say to you as to Lloyd George, Lord Northcliffe, and other preachers of "Young Men First," join up yourself and set us the example. Age is no limit. How can it be, if the deformed, the crippled, and the insane are to be found within the army's ranks?

Lord Northcliffe once said that every man who can crawl to the trenches is wanted. There has apparently been no response on your part to this vehement outburst of a master capitalist. Why this delay?

You tell a touching little story of the Russian Jew who borrowed £60 and used it to such good purpose that he is now the possessor of two motor cars and a full-blown tailoring factory.

Well, I can go one better than that, so here goes: "There was once a lawyer politician in England known as Bonar Law, who was in sore need of money. Knowing that men were becoming rich by investing in shipping concerns, he decided to do likewise. Accordingly this gentleman became the possessor of a number of shares in the Robsea Shipping Co., Ltd. Well, in due course there came word unto Bonar Law that his shares had risen in value a hundredfold owing to an exceptionally good period of exploitation and profiteering at the expense of the poor. The surprise that this man affected on hearing the good news was so great that one could have knocked him down with a coke hammer without the risk of being prosecuted for murderous assault. Far from being able to buy one or two motor cars, as the Russian Jew did, this gentleman was in a position to buy half a dozen or so, not to mention a yacht or two, should he have wanted them. Thank goodness Mr. Bonar Law is not a Jew! If Lord Northcliffe pays you well, and I am of opinion that he does, you could with advantage grasp this opportunity of getting rich quick in a similar manner. All you have to do once you get the shares is to sit tight and watch the profits roll in.

You hold that we foreigners should be serving in the British army. I would say that we as a community have no cause to be indebted to you. We foreign Jews have simply added to the number of wage slaves, thereby increasing the profits of the master class. We stand as exploited, not exploiters. Your capitalist makes no discrimination between robbing Jews or Gentiles. Jewish workers resident here, in common with those of British extraction, have no quarrel with the German people, neither of us have property to protect or interests to safeguard.

Thousands of young Jews are mysteries of the night—so runs your literary effort. With apparent ghoulish glee you assert that this is because Russia or the British army awaits them.

Yes, these fugitives are young—many are not yet out of their 'teens. Life to them is sweet, so in their desperation they hide from the military persecution. Foul lodging houses and mean restaurants offer some of them shelter. Some are hard pressed to live their miserable existence, so in desperation they turn to an occupation which you call nefarious. They are victims of the criminal circumstances under which they exist. Do away with oppression and persecution, and you can dispose of your institutions which administer the "law."

I assure you it was with sorrow that I read your article. Your article, the writing of a professed learned man, was so condemning and destructive. But stay! I would appeal to your better qualities.

You have experienced the pleasures of boyhood, have you not? You have felt that it was good to live free from oppression. You are getting on in years; if I am not mistaken you are well-nigh 60, and—er—I believe that you have spent your time well and to good purpose. You have undoubtedly travelled across the great seas to foreign lands and explored the great wonder cities of the world. Maybe you have travelled, seen, experienced pleasures in Russia, or perhaps you have been to the Pacific and inhaled the subtle and mysterious perfume of gorgeous plants in great forests resplendent with birds of paradise and rich coloured foliage. Perhaps you have dissipated a small fortune in the gaming halls of Monte Carlo, in masque balls, or splendid receptions—not for a moment do I wish to insinuate that you have done so—I only desire to point out that this is contained in life for some people. I presume, then, that you have seen and been in ecstacy, and that you have lived your life, by travel or otherwise, in every sense of the word.

Perhaps I, too, as a worker and many of my class have ideals and desire to see and live also. Live and let live would appear to be the appropriate solution.

The so-called problem of the Russian Jews to which you allude can be solved in a moment. Let us live our own lives without interference, or give us the means of departing peacefully **with our families.**

JOHN LIZEROVITCH.

* * * *

Canadian Franchise Bill disfranchises foreigners naturalised since 1902. Boer War said to be fought because foreigners had to wait five years for votes in Boer Republics.

"BABIES AND PATRIOTS."

Dear Comrade,—"The problem of infant mortality has become far more urgent in view of the loss of life during the war." So we are informed by the Press, which is now, more than ever before, calling upon the women of England "to be fruitful and multiply." It is a well-known fact that prior to the war, child welfare workers found it very hard to arouse the interest of these "select" people on the great question of infant mortality. Whenever money, for the purpose of combating this evil, was demanded, we were treated to something like the following:—

" Dreadfully sad, no doubt!
But this sentimentality—bah!
What we need is good, strong common sense.
Preposterous! Think! The expense!
These things can be carried too far.
We'd better look what we're about."

" The job surely isn't the State's,
But their parents' to keep them alive.
The way the poor breed 's a disgrace.
Besides—must take care for the race.
The weak die. And the fittest survive.
My God! And just think of the rates!"

But to-day we are being treated to a tune altogether different from the one to which we had, unfortunately, to give ear in the pre-War days. Our capitalists are falling over each other in their endeavour to worship at the feet of the goddess—Woman. Why this change?

Our capitalists realise that "deep down in every woman's soul there lies the vision of the dream-child, which will be a reality one day." And they have placed Woman upon a pedestal, simply because they desire a great increase in the birth-rate. Like Napoleon (called great!), they pin their faith in the big battalions, whether on the battlefield or in the world of Labour. And so the cry goes up: "We want more babies in order to save the Empire and the race."

The thought at the back of the minds of these people has been well expressed by Mr. W. N. Ewer in the following lines:—

" Something has got to be done!
These children one day would be men;
We may have need of them then—
May want them to shoulder a gun;
May want them to die in some War."

" Then what of the Labour supply?
Mustn't let labour run short.
Labour scarce! How our profits would fall.
What would become of us all?
Gad! What a horrible thought!
We mustn't allow them to die."

Are the women of England going to continue to risk their lives in giving birth to children simply for the purpose of providing cheap labour for grasping landlords and greedy capitalists, or to provide the pawns for the War game—the sport of Kings, Tsars and Emperors? I trow not. Once they know the truth, they will rise up against their oppressors, as they did against the Food Profiteer. It is for those who know the facts to do their utmost to spread them amongst as many of their fellow men and women as possible. If women are told the truth, they will, I believe, smash Conscription (as they did in Australia); they will smash the food gamblers; and what is best of all—they will Stop the War.

Let not such outrages as those which took place recently in London and Swansea damp our spirits. Sooner or later, truth will out; and with the truth come Peace.—I am, yours for the Cause, (Pte.) FRED ROBINSON.

COUNCILLOR DOLLAN "LIBERATED"

A "PROHIBITED" DEMONSTRATION.

Councillor P. J. Dollan, of Glasgow, for so long the contributor of our valued Scottish Notes, who was exempted, but later handed over to the military because he defied an order requiring him to work 50 miles from his home, was released from Wormwood Scrubbs Prison on August 20th to permit of his attending an appeal against his conviction as an absentee. The appeal was heard by the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh on August 31st, and was rejected, it being ruled by the Court that the Central Tribunal, even although it makes no such condition in its decision of exemption, has power to remove persons like conscientious objectors from their "immediate sphere of influence." It was admitted by the counsel for the authorities that the powers of the Central Tribunal had never been specified or defined ,and were consequently unknown; further, that a day's inquiry in Government offices failed to elicit any information about the Committee on Work of National Importance!

Councillor Dollan's sentence of 112 days did not expire until September 4th, so that he had six days more to serve when he was released. He has been notified by the Home Office that if he continues to decline to accept work under the control of the Committee on the Employment of Conscientious Objectors "he must return to prison." While in prison he refused the Home Office Scheme on six different occasions, despite which he was measured for two outfits of working clothes. On Sunday a demonstration to protest against Dollan's removal from Gasgow was held on Glasgow Green, and although it had been prohibited by the magistrates, it was attended by ten thousand persons and proved a great success. All the speakers at the meeting were "booked" by the police for defying the magisterial edict. A resolution demanding the unconditional release of Councillors Dollan and George Smith (the latter is now in Wormwood Scrubbs) was carried with acclamation and unity.

The Govan Labour Representation Committee has been responsible for sending out an appeal for Dollan's release, which has been endorsed by 250 trade union and Labour organisations, while over 4,000 postcards have been sent by as many citizens to the Prime Minister requesting that his services as Town Councillor may be made available for Labour in the Town Council. All the non-Labour members of the Town Council of military age have been exempted, and it is believed that Dollan and Smith are being victimised for their connection with the Pacifist and Socialist movements.

BLACKBURN PEACE MEETING

The Press carefully reports the peace meetings which are broken up, but those held successfully are ignored. In Blackburn on September 9th, under the auspices of the Women's Peace Committee a meeting of between 4,000 and 5,000 persons was held in the Market Square and a resolution urging immediate peace negotiations was carried with only 6 dissentients. In the evening a still larger crowd assembled and a resolution demanding immediate peace negotiations on the basis of "no annexations; no indemnities; the right of the peoples to decide their own destiny," was carried with only two dissentients. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was the Speaker at both meetings. Many converts were made and some rushed up to Miss Pankhurst saying "good luck to you," "You go on with your work," and "what can we do for peace?" "It's peace we want!" One woman said, "I own I've been all for the War, but after this meeting I'm all against it!" On the outskirts of the crowd, which was too large for any speaker's voice to reach to its extremity, half a dozen women started singing "Rule Britannia," but they quickly stopped on finding that their interruption evoked no response. It is usually the men who endeavour to break up meetings and whilst disagreeing with the women who made this interruption, we regard their action as an instance of the plucky spirit with does not fear to be in a minority that is so characteristic of Lancashire women. We expect that these women will shortly become enthusiastic converts to the cause of peace and popular liberties.

SWEATING

Mrs. Walker has sent us the following extract from a letter written to her by a Poplar neighbour:—"Of course, you know owing to the high prices of food I have had to turn out to work—"Work," I can hear you say; " 'Sweating' is the word, not 'working' "—so as to make both ends meet. I am working for a firm in Beech Street, City, making nosebags, and I get 3s. 3d. for a dozen, and out of that I have to pay 1s. 4½d. a spool of thread, and that only makes one dozen, and so only get 1s. 10½d. for myself, and can only make two dozen and three a day. I start at eight in the morning and work till eight at night, and, mind, I have to work like a slave to earn that. You must not waste one moment, but on the same speed all day, and when I reach home at night I feel dead to the world. What I can't make out is this. I have been told that a firm close to us in Pitfield Street is doing the same work, and pay their hands 2s. 10d. a dozen, and do not charge them a penny for cotton. I can't understand why our boss can't do the same! When I first started we had to pay 1s. 6d. for thread, but we all went on strike and had 1½d. taken off. Do you think it fair that one firm should pay less than another? I often think of your words that it will never be possible to do away with sweating until every woman of full age gets the vote, and, mind, we are working for the Government. I somehow don't believe they know it. Will you find out whether our governor is allowed to charge for thread, and let me know?"

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TRADE UNION CONGRESS (continued from page 850)

ing of ships, controlling of freights and all home products was laid before Congress. Mr. England wittily observed that when Lord Devonport (grocer) was Food Controller, the people could not get sugar; and now that Lord Rhondda (coal owner) is Controller, there is a scarcity of coal. Mr. Houghton pointed out that Lord Rhondda is one of the individuals who is reaping enormous profits out of the War, as he is interested in Sanatogen, coal, iron, steel, and "heaven knows what!" Such people were more interested in exploiting the people than in running the War. Mr. Bevan said that the people are not merely obliged to provide excess profits for the shipper and producers, but also for the useless middle men and brokers who do not handle the goods and merely use the telephone; such people were adding 4d. or 5d. per lb. to the price of tea.

Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Assistant to the Food Controller, then rose with his suave, clear voice and neatly turned sentences and tried to defend his chief. He insisted that all is well; prices are fixed at every stage, and no excess profits are being made, or, if they are, the excess profits tax takes the greater part of them. Lord Rhondda is considering only the interests of the consumer, and though accusations are being levelled at him and his class, Mr. Clynes did not know what some of the workers would do without some such class to unload their grievances upon. A bitter saying, Mr. Clynes: a saying that will sound very falsely to mothers who had learnt only that morning that the price of milk is to be raised to 7d. in October and 8d. in November! But Mr. Clynes would have it that all is well: that, indeed, the policy of the Food Control Department is the policy of Labour, the policy that Mr. Clynes himself was urging, as he explained, two and a half years ago. It evidently does not occur to him that expedients which might have met the situation two and a half years ago may be altogether inadequate to-day. If the policy of the Food Controller, as it is manifested around us, is the policy of Labour, Labour must indeed be bankrupt of ideas for safeguarding the interests of the workers. Mr. Clynes' assertion is a libel. Nevertheless, we are of opinion that the official Labour policy on the food problem has not been either sufficiently definite or sufficiently complete. Mr. Clynes said that not one Food Controller, or even a thousand, could effectively keep a watch to prevent undue profiteering: therefore the Food Committees and the local authorities were given powers which would amount to police supervision. We agree with Mr. Clynes that under Lord Rhondda's system profiteering will still continue, that is why we prefer the Belgian Relief Commission's plan of preventing the operations of private profit altogether and giving producers, manufacturers and distributors a fixed salary for their work.

The best answer to Mr. Clynes was given by a delegate, who stated that the engineers in the workshops are preparing to take the same action on the food problem as they did on dilution.

PENSIONS.

On September 3rd, Naval and Military pensions were discussed. Mr. Hodge rose to pronounce a eulogy on Mr. Barnes and Mr. Bonar Law. Sympathy, like charity, has fallen on evil days: it is now the most misused word in the dictionary. Mr. Barnes had inspired his staff with "human sympathy." Mr. Hodge hoped that he himself would not fail in "human sympathy"; it would be impossible to find a more sympathetic man than Mr. Law, whilst Judge Parry had human sympathy in abundance, and, at any rate, Mr. Hodge was sure that no man with a just claim would be turned down. He dilated with emphasis upon the alternative pension, but Will Godfery declared that the Government was working in favour of the officer class and ignoring the unhappy plight of the poor man. If a man earned 50s. a week before the War he *might* get 50s. pension, and if he earned £5 he would get further aid; but if a man earned 30s. a week or less he and his family must exist on dry bread. He objected to the regulation of pensions according to injury: a man who had lost one eye or arm would eat as much as one who had lost two. Mr. Ammon drove the point home by quoting the case of two brothers, one of whom became an officer, the other a private. The officer was soon invalided out of the service with dysentery, and got a pension of £175; the private fought through many big battles, lost a leg, and was granted 16s. a week! Another man served eight years, fought through all the principal battles of the campaign, was discharged in May; in June he was granted 16s. a week. Shortly afterwards he got a job as carman; pension stopped. It was no use Labour Ministers coming to Congress to whitewash the scheme. The Government had purposely placed them where they would receive all the curses when things went wrong. They should work in co-operation with Congress, in which case they might not find it easy to stay in the Government.

WOMEN AT THE CONGRESS.

The most humorous speech of the Congress was that of Mrs. Fawcett, of the National Federation of Women Workers, who "brought down the house" in supporting the eight-hour-day resolution. She introduced herself as the wife of an engineman, and told of the frequent summoning of the engineman from his home to drive a train at midnight or in the early small hours, although he has been driving a train all day. After the Boer War her husband was earning 4s. 9d. a day, but he often came home with his ticket marked "booked off," which meant that he had to hold himself in readiness till wanted, without any wages, and he often earned no more than 12s. or 15s. a week. Therefore she supported the proposal to reduce hours, in order to absorb into the industry the unemployed or partially employed. She was in the railway strike of 1911. She would be in the next strike if she got the chance. J. Bromley, of the Engineers' and Firemen's Union, said that when his union by the threat of striking secured a promise of an eight-hour day after the War, the Government had declared that the extension of the eight-hour day to all industry after the War was "unthinkable." He urged other unions not to wait till after the War to secure this promise.

Whilst the men were urging an eight-hour day to prevent unemployment, the National Federation of Women Workers proposed various alterations in the Insurance Act, the provision of training and maintenance of women obliged to seek new occupations, and for:—

"Workers in munition and other trades in which there has been excessive overtime, four weeks' furlough with full pay, in order to recruit their strength."

Miss Mary Macarther pleaded fervently for this provision, declaring that the women must have indemnities and guarantees, urging that they had come forward ungrudgingly for dangerous work, and that when a call had been made for volunteers more than were needed had been forthcoming. It was regrettable that so much piteous pleading should be expended in the advocacy of so small a gain. Indeed, the position of the woman worker at the Trade Union Congress, as elsewhere, is too much that of the mendicant at the gate. Still the plea is: "We have been patriotic, patient and obedient; we have worked excessive hours; our health is breaking; we are grossly sweated, and almost are starving; we only ask because our lot is harder than we can bear; if it were but a little easier we would endure without murmuring." A great gulf separates this humble beggary from the militant spirit of the South Wales miner, who, at the other end of the scale, is forging on with the keen determination to secure, not a bare existence, but the entire world for the workers.

But there are signs of a new attitude. The North-country women of the textile industries form the majority of the members of their trade unions, and, though kept out of the best-paid processes, they obtain equal pay with men in the branches of their trade in which they are employed. For some years past they have protested against the low standards set by the National Federation of Women Workers, which until the War was chiefly engaged in organising the most grossly sweated workers in unorganised trades. On Friday, at the Congress, Mrs. Bamber, of the National Union of Warehouse Workers, opposed a resolution of the National Federation, urging:

(1) The setting up of permanent advisory committees of doctors, "Trade Unionists (including women)" and "persons experienced in the inspection of factories and the employment of women" to make recommendations through the Ministry of Labour and the Home Office in regard to what employments may be harmful to women, its reports to form the basis of legislation.

(2) The extension of the Trade Boards to further industries and the establishment of Employment Boards to regulate women's employment in trades which do not normally pay less than a living wage.

Mrs. Bamber argued that no Trade Board has ever fixed a decent standard of wages, and cited cases in which advances in wages have been secured by the trade union, but employers have refused to extend the advance to workers covered by the Trade Board Act, saying that the Board is responsible for fixing their conditions. She said that she would be in favour of the resolution if it were to apply only to workers under eighteen years, but the wages of adult women should be fixed by their trade union, like those of the men. Quite apart from the merits of her contention, Mrs. Bamber undoubtedly made the ablest speech of any woman at the Congress, and, though hers was the only speech against the resolution, it was nearly defeated, being carried by 1,205,000 to 1,073,000. This incident and Mrs. Fawcett's speech on the eight hours' question marked the fact that at least some of the women trade unionists are joining the ranks of that militant section of which the miners and railwaymen are most typical, which desires the workers to rely on the power of industrial organisation, not on outside aid.

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING.

The mendicant attitude, though most conspicuous in the women's unions, is not confined to them, but has a tendency to appear in all the poorly organised trades. There is a perpetual contest between those who are prepared to take anything that can be got without effort and those who are determined to fight for something worth while. Thus Robert Smillie's protest against the amendment to the Workmen's Compensation Act, passed in 1916 as an "agreed' measure, and granting only a War increase of 25 per cent. in the compensation payable for total disability was met with the reply: "We could get no more." The miners had not been consulted; the miners were asking much more. They could not assent to the view that it was a case of this or nothing; "the miners have ways of getting things," so Smillie objected. The Whitley Report on reconstruction and the relations between employers and employed, was supported by Mr. Clynes, who, as a faithful member of the Government, supports all Government action at present. Dubery, of the Postal Group, pointed out that the suggested machinery for compulsory arbitration would gradually destroy the right to strike, whilst Hodges, of the South Wales Miners' Federation, pointed out that the report is subversive of the purpose of trade unionism, because it seeks to establish *permanent* relations between employer and employed, and the purpose of trade unionism is constantly to alter the relations in favour of the employee. The trade union movement had enough intellectual capacity within its own ranks to devise its own machinery. He urged that a committee be set up for that purpose. But Turner, of the Shop Assistants, pleaded that the machinery would help the poorly organised workers in his trade, and cited the case of one who is dying of tuberculosis because her employers, under the living-in system, had given her too little food. The Conference hesitated, and decided to refer the matter to its Parliamentary Committee. This is what usually happens. The Congress responds with enthusiasm to all revolutionary feeling, but when decisive action is required it shirks a decision.

CRAFT v. INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

Clashes took place between the railwaymen and the enginemen and stokers and between the miners and the enginemen and stokers on the subject of industrial unionism. We must declare our view that industrial unionism best serves the interests of the worker, and will undoubtedly supersede the older form of organisation in the near future. At bottom the opposition to it seems to be due to vested interests, a conservative dislike of change, and to the old neglect of the unskilled workers by the more privileged skilled workers, which now makes the labourers fear to throw in their lot with the skilled men, also to the anxiety of minorities (such as the enginemen on the pit top), lest their interests may be neglected by the majority. But this sectionalism will pass as it comes to be recognised that an equal standard of comfort and of social recognition for every member of the community is the ideal at which to aim.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

A generous resolution was that put forward by the Railway Clerks congratulating the Agricultural Labourers on the progress of their organisation and urging that at least £1,000 be granted by Congress to aid them in this work. The railway clerks themselves offered £50. The boot and shoe operatives offered a further £50 a year for five years, if 19 other Unions would do the same. A fine example of solidarity.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

In moving the Russian Revolution resolution, Fred Bramley referred to the article which appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" by Countess Torby, sister of the Grand Duke Michael, inciting to civil war against the provisional Government. He asked the British Government whether it recognises the Government of Russia as a friendly power and if so, why it allows the publication of such articles.

A resolution was carried, urging the establishment of Mothers' Pensions on the American plan. Robert Smillie pointed out that this applies to the children both of widowed mothers and deserted mothers.

The Congress, held in the Ball room of "The Palace," one of Blackpool's great amusement houses, had opened strangely with songs from the Mikado, by a party of music-hall artistes. It closed with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" by delegates with linked hands. Harry Gosling, the most typical of Trade Unionists, with a few kindly words presented John Hill, the Chairman with a bell made for him by the President and vice-President of the Brassmakers' Union and engraved with an emblem of his own trade. This bell had been on the chairman's table throughout the Congress but he had never needed to ring it. Mr. Hill was complimented on keeping order. He said: "democracy can govern itself; my success has been that I have allowed the Congress to govern itself and my work has been light." Indeed, the most outstanding feature of the Congress is its kindliness of spirit and its sense of the brother and sisterhood of the workers. The Trade Union Movement of which the Congress is the mouthpiece, cannot proceed in advance of the common measure of its own public opinion, but consciously, or unconsciously, it is moving onward to the co-operative commonwealth.

E.S.P.

THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People on the basis of a Socialist Commonwealth.

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Minimum Subscription—1d. a month.

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Hon. Assistant Secretary: Mrs. Minnie Lansbury.

Hon. Financial Secretary: Miss Norah Smyth.

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The W.S.F. appeals for members and workers and invites friends to visit its offices and social institutions.

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THE MOTHERS' ARMS: 438 Old Ford Road, E.3 Mother and Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays 2.30 p.m. Infant Clinic and Day Nursery, 8 a.m. to 7 p.m.

MONTESSORI SCHOOL: 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. (by appointment with Miss Muriel Matters) at the Mothers' Arms.

THE WOMEN'S HALL: 20 Railway Street (opposite South Bromley Station on the North London Railway) Mother and Infant Clinic, Doctor's Consultations and Baby Weighing, Mondays and Thursdays at 2.30 p.m. Cost Price Restaurant, &c.

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COST PRICE RESTAURANT: 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3, and 20 Railway Street, Poplar.

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THE WORKERS' CHOIR: Applications for Membership to Mrs. Hercbergova, 45 Norman Road, E.

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOL: 20 Railway Street, Poplar. Sunday Afternoons, 3 p.m.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Miss M. Gliksten, £5; W. Mansell Esq., £1 1s.; Irene, per Mrs Drake (weekly), £1; Anon, 4s.; Miss R. Peters, 10s.; H. Hersey Esq., 10s.; Sale of fruit, 7s. 4d.; John Alexander, Esq., 5s.; COLLECTIONS: Poplar, 2s. 0½d.; Osborn St. 1s. 8d.

DREADNOUGHT FUND.—Mrs. Almond, £2 2s.; Mrs. F. E. Rowe (weekly 5s.), £1 1s. 8d.; Per Miss Balchin, £1; Countess of Warwick, £1; Miss Turner, £1; Mrs. C. Morgan, £1; Mrs. Hickmott, 10s.; P. H. Durant, Esq. (monthly), 10s.; J. A. Morton, Esq., 6s. 9d.; Harold Martyn, Esq. (weekly 1s.), 5s.; Mrs Clarges, 5s.; Miss G. P. Boothroyd, 5s.; Miss D. Matthews, 5s.; Islington Branch 5s.; St. Pancras Branch, 5s.; Mr. and Mrs. Cole (weekly 1s.), 4s.; Mrs. Brimley (weekly 1s.), 3s.; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly) 2s. 6d.; Miss L. Hudson (monthly), 2s. 6d.; Miss Edith Smith, 2s. 6d.; J. Genge Esq., 2s. 6d. Mrs. Winter 2s. 6d.; a Friend 2s.; Mrs. and Miss Casey (Weekly) 2s.; Mrs. Birch, 2s.; W. Emerson Esq., 1s. 3d.; Mrs. Savoy (weekly) 1s.; Miss Manicom (weekly), 1s.; Miss Saward (weekly), 1s.; Miss Newsome (monthly) 1s.

PEACE CAMPAIGN.—A Senior, 8s.; Anon 2s. 6d.; Mrs. James Morton 2s.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Board of Education Grant to Nursery, £136 2s.; Mrs. Bernard Shaw, £10; Anon, £5 5s.; F. Swanzy, Esq., £5; Mrs. Baillie Weaver (monthly) £2 10s.; Rev. Basil E. G. Shelley £2 2s.; Mrs. Sparke Evans, £2 2s.; Per Miss Weir (monthly), £1 5s.; Misses Mann (monthly), £1; Mrs. Harwood £1; Mrs. Garnett, £1; London Fields Adult School, £1; Miss M. D. Evans, £1; Nurse Hebbes (weekly), 12s.; H. H. Goulden, Esq., 10s.; Anon, 10s.; Miss G. A. Barham, 7s. 6d.; Mrs. Usherwood (monthly), 6s.; George Crewse, Esq., 5s.; A. F. Rayment, 5s.; Miss E. Guest, 5s.; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. E. M. Morrison (monthly), 5s.; Miss E. Crabb (monthly), 3s. 6d.; D. Wilkie, Esq. (monthly), 2s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Misses Lagsding and Barker (Green's Yard, 10s.; Mrs. Crabb, 9s. 7½d.; Misses Watts and Barker (Green's Yard, Sept. 1st.) 9s. 3½d.

FRUIT AND VEGETABLES.—Miss Barham; Mrs. B. Laurisen; Mrs. Welch; Miss Napier; Mrs. Clark.

CLOTHES ETC.—Miss Spencer; Miss Fuller; Anon

WHAT'S ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th.
Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th.
Meetings, 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., See "Great Push."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 16th.
Osborn Street, 11.30 a.m., Ex-Inspector Syme.
Victoria Park, 4 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier, Mrs. Cressall.
The Square, Woolwich, 7 p.m., Mrs. Walker.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19th.
"Salmon and Ball," 7 p.m., Mrs. Cressall.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20th.
Cannon Street Road, Commercial Road, 7 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22nd.
Meetings, 3 p.m. and 7 p.m., See "Great Push."

INDOOR

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17th.
53 St. Leonard's Street, 2.30 p.m., Miss Lynch.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 18th.
I.W.W. Hall, 76 Whitechapel Road, 8 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 20th.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, 8.30 p.m., Mrs. Scurr.
West Hackney Lecture Hall, 3 p.m., Mrs. Drake: "The New Charter for the Workers."

LEEDS

LEEDS.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Hunter, 7 Sugdenfold, Armley. Branch meeting, Clarion Café, Tuesdays, 8 p.m. DREADNOUGHTS sold, 104.

DURHAM.

Mrs. Bouvier had a successful week's tour in Darlington, Quebec, Chopwell and Prudhoe, where she spoke both for the I.L.P. and W.S.F. A good number of DREADNOUGHTS was sold.

BIRMINGHAM.

An urgent special meeting will be held at the Stirchley Institute on Wednesday, September 19th, at 7.45 p.m. Will members make a special effort to attend?

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

KINGSLEY HALL, Bow, September 16th, 8.15 p.m., Rosa Waugh Hobhouse will speak.

* * * *

The Glasgow women Peace Crusaders have been distributing literature at the Church doors.

JOIN OUR GREAT PUSH FOR
PEACE! SOCIALISM! VOTES FOR ALL!

ORGANISED BY THE WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION, 400 OLD FORD ROAD, E.3

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15th, CAMBERWELL—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 85 CAMBERWELL GROVE, S.E, 2.45 p.m.
1st Meeting: 3 p.m. Miss LYNCH, Mrs. NELLIE BEST and Mrs. BOUVIER.
2nd Meeting: 7 p.m. Miss LYNCH, Mrs. BOUVIER, Mr. H. G. RUSSELL and Rev. R. W. SORENSEN.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22nd, HAMMERSMITH—(Joint with Peace Crusaders). Meet: 29B LINCOLN'S INN FIELDS, W.C., 2.15 p.m.
Secretary for the day: Miss CASEY, 29b Lincoln's Inn Fields, W.C.
Meetings: 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. BOUVIER, Mrs. NELLIE BEST, Miss LYNCH, Rev. R. W. SORENSEN and Ex-Inspector SYME.

FEDERATION NOTES

BIG PUSH.

Owing to organised opposition and an air-raid warning our first meeting in Poplar on Sunday, September 9th, was not very successful. One good point about it was that a man who tried to overturn the platform, on being reasoned with by the speaker, acknowledged that he had been mistaken and offered to shake hands.

The evening meeting, however, held outside St. Michael's Church, was very good. Long after it was dark a large crowd remained listening to the speakers, assuring each other that Mrs. Butler's stories of injustice and hardship on the part of the authorities towards soldiers and their families were quite true, and that such a state of affairs should be altered. She pointed out that the power of Adult Suffrage and the tranquility of Peace were needed before the people could secure fair play. She told how the soldiers at Woolwich to whom she spoke promised a hot time to any opponents who came to her meetings while they were there.

Ex-Inspector Syme, who followed, was taken to task because he had allied himself with Socialists and Peace cranks. He was told that such people had brought Russia to her present position, and were trying to bring about a Revolution in France. A woman called out that if the War continued much longer there would be a revolution in England too.

A good number of DREADNOUGHTS was sold and a collection in aid of the Peace work was taken.

PEACE PICKETS.

We are arranging further Peace Pickets and should be glad if all those who wish to help would send in their names.

BRANCHES.

Will all those sympathisers in Beckenham and the neighbourhood who wish to help in forming a branch, communicate with Mrs. Hambling, 24 Hayne Road, Beckenham, who is acting as Hon. Sec. pro. tem.

The children's dancing class and the Club at Bow will reopen on Friday, September 21st. All members and friends are welcome to the club, which starts at 8.15 p.m.

We have been offered the use of a gymnasium outfit for the Poplar Club if we can find a teacher. We should be most grateful if one of our members or friends competent to teach would volunteer for the post.

We are also asked to announce that Miss Isaacs would welcome help with the Poplar Socialist Sunday School, which is held every Sunday, 3 p.m., at 20 Railway Street, Poplar.

PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE.

The weekly At Homes held in Central London will now be managed by a committee which held its first meeting at 29b Lincolns Inn Fields, W.C., on Monday, September 10th. Miss Eve Casey was elected Hon. Sec., Miss Bridges, Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Cahill Literature Secretary.

THE PERSECUTION OF MR. E. D. MOREL.

For many months Mr. Morel has been abused by the Yellow Press as a Traitor. Now at last he has actually been convicted of the horrible crime of committing a technical breach of a regulation made under D.O.R.A. Read the full report of the proceedings in Court in

REX v. MOREL,

with portrait of Mr. Morel and prefatory statement by the Executive of the Union of Democratic Control.
Price, 2d.

NOW is the time to read the books and pamphlets by Mr. Morel mentioned in the case. Here they are:—

Africa and the Peace of Europe (with 2 maps), 2s.; post free, 2s. 4d. The book which has enraged the financiers who wish to exploit the vast resources of tropical Africa for their own private advantage, and the so-called statesmen who contemplate raising 25,000,000 armed negroes for Europe.

Truth and the War (15th thousand), 2s.; post free, 2s. 4d. The most widely read of all war books. Reveals the astounding facts usually suppressed. Why Europe is a slaughter-house to-day.

Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy (12th thousand), 1s. 6d. post free. The standard work on the Secret Diplomacy which preceded the war.

Tsardom's Part in the War. Price 2d. First edition of 10,000 exhausted in 5 days. Reveals the responsibility of the Ex-Tsar and his abominable Ministers in the negotiations preceding the war.

READ ALSO THE THREE LATEST U.D.C. PAMPHLETS.

The War to end War. A plea to soldiers by a soldier, 1d.

The African Problem and the Peace Settlement, by E. D. Morel. 2d.

The Races of Austria-Hungary, by G. P. Gooch, 2d.

To be obtained from the National Labour Press Ltd., 30 Blackfriars Street, Manchester; the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.; the British Socialist Party, 21a Maiden Lane, Strand, W.C.2; Reformers' Bookstall, 126 Bothwell Street, Glasgow, and I.L.P. Literature Secretaries.

"Rex v. Morel," "The African Problem and the Peace Settlement," "The Races of Austria-Hungary" are also to be obtained from the Literature Department, Union of Democratic Control, 37 Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.2.

MONDA SOCIALISMO.

Free Food, Law Love, Temple Truth, Sovran Self.
Songs and Recitals by ALEXANDER HUNTER, 37 Collingwood Road, Coventry.—"Fine Voice." "Powerful Reciter."

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

SOUTHEND: Apartments or Bed-Sitting Room, near bandstand, pier.—C., 1 Grange Gardens, Southend.

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BASKET, CANE AND CHAIR MAKERS WANTED, men and women; Trade Union rate; no difference in sex in payment.—Apply R.V., Basket and Cane Work, John Knox Street, Glasgow.

WANTED—New or Second-Hand Copies of "The Human Flower," by Ellis Ethelmee.—Miss Turner, 13 Victoria Road, Brighton.

TO LET—Unfurnished 3 or 4 rooms. Apply 34 Campbell Road, Bow, E.3, by appointment.

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